

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STOCKH 06620 01 OF 03 011337Z

23 45
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 DLOS-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9260

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

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AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMBASSY MOSCOW 883

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

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PAGE 02 STOCKH 06620 01 OF 03 011337Z

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

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USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION NATO
USMISSION USBERLIN UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 STOCKHOLM 6620

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, SW
SUBJECT: SWEDISH VIEWS ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION AND BELGRADE
CONFERENCE

REF: STOCKHOLM 6509

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. SWEDISH SUPPORT OF AND PREPARATIONS FOR THE CSCE FOLLOW-UP MEETING IN BELGRADE BEGINNING IN JUNE 1977 REMAIN UNAFFECTED BY THE RECENT CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT, REFLECTING AGAIN THE BROAD CONSENSUS IN SWEDEN THAT THE PROCESS BEGUN LAST YEAR IN HELSINKI HAS BECOME VITAL TO THE SUCCESS OF DETENTE AND MUST CONTINUE. THE RECENT VISIT TO STOCKHOLM OF MEMBERS OF THE US CSCE COMMISSION PROVIDED ADDITIONAL OPPORTUNITIES TO RECEIVE CURRENT GOS VIEWS ON THE SWEDISH EXPERIENCE WITH IMPLEMENTATION AND THEIR PREPARATIONS FOR BELGRADE. IT IS CLEAR THAT IN THE MONTHS BEFORE THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE, GOS IS EAGER TO CONSULT NOT ONLY WITH THE OTHER NEUTRALS AND NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES BUT WITH THE WESTERN POWERS AS WELL, INCLUDING THE US. END SUMMARY.

2. THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT VIEWS THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT GENERALLY AS A DYNAMIC DOCUMENT WHICH HAS BECOME VITAL TO THE LONG-TERM DETENTE PROCESS. SWEDISH OFFICIALS ARE FOND OF SAYING THAT, BECAUSE SWEDEN IS A SMALL COUNTRY WITHOUT SECURITY ALLIANCE PROTECTION, DETENTE IS OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE TO SWEDISH SURVIVAL -- AND THAT HELSINKI AND BELGRADE ARE IMPORTANT TO THE SUCCESS OF DETENTE. HELSINKI HAS MADE POSSIBLE AN INCREASINGLY
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PAGE 03 STOCKH 06620 01 OF 03 011337Z

BORAD DIALOGUE WITH THE EAST WHICH WAS INCONCEIVABLE ONLY A FEW YEARS AOG. BUT COMMUNICATING WITH THE EAST REMAINS A DIFFICULT PROCESS AND THE SWEDES ARE ANXIOUS THAT THE DIALOGUE BE EXPANDED. THE GOS IS PROUD OF THE MEDIATOR ROLE IT AND OTHER NEUTRAL COUNTRIES PLAYED IN GENEVA STAGE II NEGOTIATIONS TO REACH COMPROMISE FORMULA AND MAKE THE FINAL ACT A REALITY. IT IS QUITE WILLING TO MAKE SIMILAR BRIDGE-BUILDING

CONTRIBUTIONS AT BELGRADE IF NECESSARY.

3A. GOS POSITION ON STATUS OF IMPLEMENTATION. THE GOS FIRMLY BELIEVES IT HAS DONE EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO LIVE UP TO THE PROVISIONS AND SPIRIT OF THE FINAL ACT. THE SWEDES HAVE PUBLISHED THE HELSINKI ACCORD IN SEVERAL LANGUAGES FOR WIDE DISTRIBUTION WITHIN SWEDEN. (THEY HAVE ALSO BROADCAST THE COMPLETE TEXT IN RUSSIAN LANGUAGE BROADCASTS BEAMED AT THE SOVIET UNION). IN THE CONVICTION THAT EFFORTS MUST BE MADE TO IMPLEMENT ALL PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT, THE SWEDES ATTEMPT TO GIVE EQUAL WEIGHT

AND CONCENTRATIONS TO ALL BASKETS. THEY ADMIT, HOWEVER, THAT THE PRESSURE OF WIDE PUBLICITY IN SWEDEN GIVEN TO UNRESOLVED FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND MARRIAGE CASES HAS CAUSED THEM TO DEVOTE EXTRAORDINARY ATTENTION AND RESOURCES TO BASKET III HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS. THE FINAL ACT AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION IS, HOWEVER, PLACED ON THE AGENDA (BY THE SWEDES) OF ALL BILATERAL TALKS HELD WITH SOVIET AND EASTERN EUROPEAN LEADERS. IN CONCLUDING TRADE AND CULTURAL AGREEMENTS WITH THE EAST SINCE HELSINKI, SWEDES HAVE INSISTED UPON AND SUCCEEDED IN INCORPORATING FINAL ACT LANGUAGE INTO EACH AGREEMENT, DESPITE EASTERN RESISTENCE TO THIS APPROACH.

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PAGE 01 STOCKH 06620 02 OF 03 011425Z

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 DLOS-06 TRSY-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00

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PAGE 02 STOCKH 06620 02 OF 03 011425Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 STOCKHOLM 6620

B. BASKET I - LIKE OTHER SMALL NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED EUROPEAN STATES, SWEDEN CONSIDERS CBM IMPLEMENTATION OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE. THE GOS IS GENERALLY PLEASED OVER PROGRESS ACHIEVED IN THIS AREA THUS FAR. SWEDEN HAS RECEIVED 30 NOTIFICATIONS FOR 18 MILITARY MANEUVERS SINCE AUGUST 1975 AND WAS INVITED TO SEND OBSERVERS TO 8 (INCLUDING POLAND AND USSR). WE ARE INFORMED IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE THAT, ASSUMING ADEQUATE FUNDS ARE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE MFA FOR THE PURPOSE, THE GOS WILL NOTIFY ALL SIGNATORIES OF SWEDISH MANEUVERS INVOLVING 15,000 TROOPS PLANNED FOR NEXT MARCH AND WILL INVITE SEVERAL OF THEM FROM THE EAST AND WEST TO OBSERVE THEM. THE GOS BELIEVES THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE

MUST REVIEW THE PROGRESS OF CBM'S THOROUGHLY. THEY BELIEVE IT POSSIBLE TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF CBM'S AND MAY WANT TO TABLE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS AT BELGRADE. THEY POINT OUT THAT THE FINAL ACT PROVIDES FOR "FURTHER DISCUSSIONS" IN THIS AREA AND ARE NOW PREPARING FOR SUCH. AS ONE EXAMPLE, ASSUMING CONTINUING SLOW PROGRESS IN MBFR AND SALT NEGOTIATIONS, THE GOS MAY PUSH STRONGLY FOR THE ADOPTION OF A COMMITMENT BY ALL SIGNATORIES TO PUBLISH THEIR MILITARY BUDGETS. (GOS HAS TABLED A RESOLUTION AT THE UN AND CCD ON THE SAME SUBJECT, BUT BELIEVES BELGRADE WILL BE EQUALLY APPROPRIATE FORUM FOR SUCH DISCUSSION). THEY EXPECT STIFF EASTERN RESISTANCE.

C. BASKET II - THE SWEDES DO NOT BELIEVE PROGRESS IN BASKET II IMPLEMENTATION HAS GONE VERY FAR AND WILL INSIST AT BELGRADE THAT THE CONFERENCE DISCUSS NON-COMPLIANCE IN THIS AREA. THE SOVIETS, THEY BELIEVE, CONFIDENTIAL
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PAGE 03 STOCKH 06620 02 OF 03 011425Z

WILL USE BELGRADE TO PUSH THEIR PROPOSALS FOR PAN-EUROPEAN CONFERENCES ON ENERGY, THE ENVIRONMENT AND TRANSPORTATION. HELSINKI'S MAIN CONTRIBUTION THUS FAR IN THE SWEDISH VIEW HAS BEEN TO LEGITIMIZE WESTERN QUERIES REGARDING A POTENTIAL DEEPENING OF TRADE AND COMMERCIAL TIES, QUERIES WHICH ONLY A FEW YEARS AGO WERE DENOUNCED AS INTERFERENCE IN THE EAST'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THE SWEDES BELIEVE THEIR QUIET BUT STEADY PRESSURE HAS BROUGHT SOME SMALL PROGRESS -- CZECH AND BULGARIAN PERMISSION FOR SWEDISH BUSINESSMEN TO TAKE UP RESIDENCE -- BUT GENERALLY SPEAKING, SWEDISH SUCCESS IN OBTAINING FACILITIES, STATISTICS AND COMMERCIAL COOPERATION IN THE EAST REMAINS A SOMETIME THING. THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT HAS HAD NO INFLUENCE ON SWEDISH PRIVATE BANK EXPERIENCE IN EXTENDING CREDIT TO EASTERN TRADE INSTITUTIONS. (IT CONTINUES TO BE A PROFITABLE IF SOMEWHAT COMPLICATED BUSINESS FOR THE SWEDISH PRIVATE SECTOR.)

D. BASKET III - THE GOS SEES MODEST PROGRESS IN THE FAMILY REUNIFICATION, INFORMATION, CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL AREAS SINCE HELSINKI, BUT REALIZES "REALISTICALLY" THAT FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN EASTERN SOCIETIES TO COMPLY WITH BASKET III PROVISIONS GENERALLY IS A VERY LONG-TERM AFFAIR. THE SWEDISH CASE LOAD OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND MARRIAGE CASES HAS NEARLY TRIPLED SINCE HELSINKI AND THE MFA IS CURRENTLY WORKING ON MORE THAN 100 "CERTIFIED" CASES (INCLUDING 21 CONCERNING ROMANIA ALONE). GOS ATTEMPTS TO PERSUADE EASTERN COUNTRIES TO RESOLVE THESE HUMAN CONTACT PROBLEMS ARE OFTEN HANDICAPPED BY THE EXTENSIVE MEDIA PUBLICITY

GIVEN INDIVIDUAL CASES IN SWEDEN WHICH, GOS OFFICIALS
SAY, MERELY REINFORCES EASTERN OBSTINANCY. THEY
CONSIDER UNFORTUNATE IF UNDERSTANDABLE THE FACT THAT 95 PERCENT
OF ALL PUBLIC COMMENT ON CSCE IN SWEDEN IS CONCENTRATED
ON THESE INDIVIDUAL REUNIFICATION AND MARRIAGE CASES.

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PAGE 01 STOCKH 06620 03 OF 03 011448Z

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INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 DLOS-06 SAL-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

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PAGE 02 STOCKH 06620 03 OF 03 011448Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 STOCKHOLM 6620

4. PREPARATIONS FOR BELGRADE. THE GOS DELEGATION AT THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE WILL BE LED BY AMBASSADOR BETTIL ARVIDSSON WHO PLAYED A SIMILAR ROLE AT GENEVA. ARVIDSSON HAS DESCRIBED TO US THE ONGOING CONSULTATION PROCESS AMONG THE NEUTRALS AND NON-ALIGNED, HE HAS INFORMED VISITING US OFFICIALS THAT SWEDEN'S POSITION HAS NOT YET BEEN WORKED OUT FOR BELGRADE BUT THINKS THAT SUCH PRE-CONFERENCE CONSULTATIONS WILL RESULT IN A RELATIVELY UNIFIED APPROACH BY THIS GROUP. HE DOES NOT FORESEE THE FORMATION OF A "THIRD FORCE" OR OF A NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED BLOC HOWEVER. SWEDISH-FINNISH CONSULTATIONS ARE PARTICULARLY CLOSE AND FREQUENT AND BELGRADE WAS CERTAINLY ON THE AGENDA OF FOREIGN MINISTER SODER'S TALKS IN HELSINKI LAST WEEK. THE GOS WAS REPRESENTED AT LEAST WEEK'S VIENNA MEETING OF NEUTRALS BY ARVIDSSON AND BY MFA OFFICIAL KERSTIN ASP, WHO WILL BE A KEY MEMBER OF THE GOS DELEGATION AT BELGRADE) ASP'S BRIEFING ON THE VIENNA MEETING WAS VERY MUCH IN LINE WITH EMBASSY VIENNA'S VERY HELPFUL REPORT (VIENNA 9816). SHE SAID THAT THE FOUR NEUTRALS WOULD MEET AGAIN IN BERN IN MARCH AND PERHAPS ONCE MORE BEFORE BELGRADE. AUSTRIA, APPARENTLY, WILL INFORM YUGOSLAVS OF THE RESULTS OF THE VIENNA MEETING. ALL FOUR NEUTRALS ARE INCLINED NOW TO ATTEND A NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED MEETING PERHAPS IN JANUARY IF THE YUGOSLAVS TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO EXTEND INVITATIONS.

5. BELGRADE CONFERENCE.

A. ORGANIZATION. THE GOS FORESEES A 6-WEEK PREPARATORY MEETING OF EXPERTS STARTING IN JUNE TO SET THE AGENDA
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PAGE 03 STOCKH 06620 03 OF 03 011448Z

AND AGREE ON THE MODALITIES OF THE SUBSTANTIVE MEETING, WHICH SHOULD BEGIN IN SEPTEMBER AND RUN THROUGH MID-DECEMBER 1977. SWEDEN HAS NOTIFIED YUGOSLAVIA OF ITS SUPPORT FOR MILORED BOZINOVIC AS EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE BELGRADE MEETING. THE GOS WOULD PROBABLY HAVE NO PROBLEM WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SEPARATE COMMITTEES FOR EACH BASKET, BUT ITS POSITION HERE AS ON OTHER ASPECTS OF THE CONFERENCE (FORMAT, COMMUNIQUE, AND FOLLOW-UP) REMAIN UNDECIDED.

B. CONFERENCE DEBATE. THE SWEDES MOST ASSUREDLY BELIEVE THE MAIN PRUPOSE OF CONFERENCE IS TO DISCUSS IN A SERIOUS AND CALM MANNER THE RECORD OF IMPLEMENTATION TF HELSINKI FINAL ACT. THEY WILL AVOID A CONFRONTATIVE OR ACCUSATORY POSTURE TOWARDS THE EAST, BUT DO NOT INTEND TO REMAIN SILENT BY ANY MEANS. AS A NEUTRAL THEY ARE EAGER TO PLAY, ALONG WITH OTHER NEUTRALS OR NON-ALIGNED NATIONS, WHATEVER MEDIATION ROLE DESIRED TO KEEP THE DEBATE ON TRACK. THE SWEDES INTEND AS WELL, AS MENTIONED ABOVE, TO INTRODUCE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS OF THEIR OWN, PARTICULARLY CBM "REFINEMENTS."

C. FOLLOW-UP. THE GOS IS OPPOSED TO AN "INSTITUTIONALIZATION" OF THE CSCE PROCESS, BUT SEE GREAT UTILITY IN PERIODIC REVIEWS, PERHAPS EVERY OTHER YEAR IN DIFFERENT EUROPEAN CAPITALS, TO MAINTAIN THE PRESSURE FOR COMPLIANCE WITH FINAL ACT PROVISIONS.

6. CONSULTATIONS WITH U.S. GOS OFFICIALS RESPONSIBLE FOR CSCE MATTERS HAVE BEEN UNQUALIFIABLY OPEN, CANDID, AND COOPERATIVE WITH THE EMBASSY AND ALL US OFFICIALS VISITORS (SUCH AS THE RECENT CODEL FASCELL) IN DISCUSSING IMPLEMENTATION AND BELGRADE. THEY LOOK FORWARD TO THE SAME CLOSE, INFORMAL CONTACT WITH THE US DELEGATION AT BELGRADE AS EXISTED DURING STAGE II IN GENEVA. MFA POLITICAL DIVISION DIRECTOR LEIF LEIFLAND WILL BE IN WASHINGTON IN LATE DECEMBER (REF STOCKHOLM 6472) AND HOPES TO MEET WITH EUR/RPM FOR A CSCE REVIEW.
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